AN ARGUMENT PROVING,

That the Abrogation of King *James* by the People of *England* from the Regal Throne, and the Promotion of the Prince of *Orange*, one of the Royal Family, to the Throne of the Kingdom in his ſtead, was according to the Conſtitution of the Engliſh Government, and *Preſcribed* by it.

In Oppoſition to all the falſe and treacherous Hypotheſes, of Uſurpation, Conqueſt, Deſertion, and of taking the Powers that *Are* upon Content.

By *SAMUEL JOHNSON.*

Nec Deus interſit niſi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit.——Horat.

LONDON, Printed for the Author: And are to be ſold by *Richard Baldwin*, 1692.

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In Opposition to all the false and treacherous Hypotheses, of Usurpation, Conquest, Desertion, and of taking the Powers that are upon Content.

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Gen. Res. 13 May 42 Norman=ac

TO THE COMMONS of ENGLAND in Parliament Assembled.

THE favourable Acceptance, which my Bounden Services to my Country, as I ever accounted them, (though they were always difficult and upon the Forlorn) have heretofore found in your Honourable House, hath caused me to bring you this small Offering. In former Days an Appeal to the Parliament was a removal of the Cause from White-Hall; but it is our peculiar Happiness in this Reign, that we live under a Prince who had no other Business here, but to restore the Constitution; which as his Declaration speaks, was wholly overturned in the former Reigns; and who lay under a happy Necessity of assisting the People to assert their Rights, before he could secure His own Right and Remainder in the Crown.

This Subversion and Overturning of the best Frame of Government in the World was very artificially managed, and began at your House; which has been run down as an Innovation, and no Essential Part of Parliament, a Mushroom sprung up in the 49th of H. 3. and founded in Rebellion;

Gen. Kes. 13 May 42 Norman = 42
220

as if You had no deeper Root in the Government, than Corn has upon the House top. This scurvy Pedigree of the Commons in Parliament, drawn up by Dr. Brady, *was so well liked by the Loyal Clergy, and particularly he was so applauded by* Jovian, *that Mr.* Petyt *found the Tide so strong against him, as not to venture on a Reply; though to my knowledg he was furnished with a very good one.*

But that is not so material, when you began, as what you are: and of the two it is better to be an Upstart Authority, than a silly Cypher; and thus you have been represented to all the degrees of Insignificancy. Your Precarious Being was told you by a wonderful Statesman, who did not spare to inform you, That as the King had Created the House of Commons by his Power, so he would Preserve it by his Goodness; *but then come some of the Clergy and say, what little Creatures both you and the House of Lords are.*

Dr. Hicks *lodges in the King the whole Legislative, or the Power that makes any form of Words a Law. He says,*

Jov. p. 202. *'The Sovereign Power may indeed be limited as to the Exercise of this Legislative Power, which may be confined to 'Bills and Writings prepared by others; but still it is the Sovereign Authority who gives Life and Soul to the dead 'Letter of them. Now this is so contrary to the Constitution, as nothing can be more. For not only King* Charles *the First acknowledged that the Laws were* jointly *made by the King, Lords and Commons, (though the Houses insisted upon*

upon more) but alſo in every Act of Parliament that is made, it is expreſly ſaid in the Enacting part, that it is made by the Authority of them all: whereas by this Doctrine the two Houſes have only a Miniſterial Office of preparing a Form of Words; and furniſhing Bills and Writings, as the King's Printers uſe to do you with Pen, Ink and Paper: And in ſhort, the King alone makes Laws, and the two Houſes only find Stuff.

Now if this ſort of Paradox had been advanced concerning the Pariſh-Cheſt of Barking, where the Parſon has one Key, and each of the Church-wardens one, they could ſoon have Mathematically ſhewn him, that his Key had but one Third of the Cheſt-opening-Power, and ſuch a Miſtake would only have made a Jeſt: But in a Caſe of more Conſequence than all the Land in the Nation, if it were now to be ſold, is worth, ſuch falſe Poſitions are very Dangerous. For if the Legiſlative were once contracted in one ſingle Hand, it were as abſurd to ſay it could be limited in the Exercise of it, as it is to ſay that your Houſe has not Power over your own Orders, to recal and alter them as you think fit. What ſhall hinder the whole Legiſlative?

At this rate the Saying, of which my Lord Lauderdale has had the Honour, would have been true, that he hoped to ſee the King's Edicts to be Laws, and above the Laws; for all New Laws are always too hard for the old ones. And the Arbitrary Proclamation to forbid the Nation to Petition for a Parliament had been a Law, if the whole Legiſlative

Authority

Authority was in it: for the L. C. J. North *found it very easy to supply the place of both Houses, in drawing up the Form of Words.*

However this is very civil Usage to what you have had from other hands; for in this way you have still left you the Honour of being Clerks, and of drawing up a Form of Words. But Dr. Womack *in his* Short Way to a lasting Settlement, *printed by* Robert Clavel; *the chief Design of which was, to out the two Houses from having any share or* Authoritative Hand, *as he calls it, in making the Laws, and was shortly after made a Bishop for the Service, has this very insolent Expression:* 'The Houses
p. 24. 'you say have a Hand in the Legislation: So hath the Beg-'gar in my Almes. *As soon as I saw this Odious Comparison, I knew it was falsly applied: for even the Coronation-Oath acknowledges that the Laws of* England *are of the Folks choosing; and it is certain that Beggars are no Choosers. But I humbly beseech both Houses upon this Occasion, to have a special care how they suffer this sort of Men to have the Ascendant, who treat them in this manner; because we have a very harsh English Proverb concerning Beggars.*

In the Year of Jovian 83. *wherein these Doctrines were published and rung all over the Nation, some of the Honourable Beggars that were for a Bill of Exclusion of the Duke of* York *in his First Desertion, and were for keeping him out when he was out, after their Lives had been long*

hunted

hunted by those Men, fell into their Nets: Which Bill had given us this happy Reign several Years sooner, and had saved the Lives of more than an Hundred thousand Men, whose Blood lies at their Door; but it was then their Hour, and the Power of Darkness. Let that Year be blotted out of Chronology!

These Doctrines I conceive are Destructive to the Nation, because they undermine the Power and Authority of Parliaments, who represent the Nation, and are the Conservers of our Liberties, if we had any; but those are all taken away by another of their new-adopted Church-Doctrines of Passive Obedience, which I therefore look upon as the worst of them, because it lays waste all your Laws, after you have made them, or worded them, or begg'd them, or however you came by them.

The former Doctrines do immediately destroy you only in the Quality of Legislators; but this makes you Slaves too, and will not leave you to be so much as English Freemen. 'You must be, just such defenceless Wretches under the irre- Jov.
'sistible Power of the Sovereign and his Forces, as the Ro- P. 242.
'man Slaves were under the Sovereign and Unaccountable
'Power of their Masters. You must be Slaves as to this
'Particular, you must trust your Lives and Liberties with
'your Sovereign: And therefore the Passive Behaviour
'taught by St. Peter to the Roman Slaves is your Duty.

So that if the late Sovereign being enraged at your Address 17 Novemb. 85. which broke all his Measures, had

sitting

sitting the Parliament sent his Forces to murder you, you
P. 200. *ought to have submitted as the Thebæan Legion did, in which Army of Martyrs you would have made a goodly Regiment.* 'You were to have suffered it patiently with your 'Swords by your sides, and Passive Obedience even unto 'Death had been your Duty, by virtue both of the Imperial 'Laws, and the Laws of the Gospel. The Thebæan Legion would not Sacrifice, and you would not come to, which was a like Case; or rather yours Was the more provoking Disobedience to an Arbitrary Prince, and so you were bound in Conscience to fare alike.

Nay if without any incompliance on your part, he had only had a mind to kill Five hundred Kings at once, as King James *the First called the Parliament, for so Dr.* Wo-
P. 23. mack *relates it from Dr.* Heylin, (*but whether in way of* Jear, *or otherwise, he cannot tell*) *the Soveraign's Forces had been Kings of Kings, and Lords of Lords. For the Chaplain of the Thebæan Legion would have charged you in*
Jov. *Christ's Name, by virtue of his own Saying,*
p. 248. 'He that 'useth the Sword, shall perish by the Sword, not to resist 'under the specious Pretext of Self-defence, (though I think in that Case the specious Pretence had been very much in Earnest): And if you had thus sinned against the Laws Imperial, or the People had rescued you by force from the Soveraign's Forces, he would have pronounced concerning you
P. 249. both; 'Well, let them do so at their Peril; they may be le-'gally Hanged for it in this World,' and (without Repen-

'tance)

tance) will be damned for it in that which is to come.

This is Passive Doctrine to a Tittle; and as you like it, you may cherish that Party which has enslaved the Nation by it, and to whom is owing all the Oppression of the last Reigns. For if the Doctrine of Defending our Rights when they were Invaded, had not been Burnt, Martyr'd and Stigmatiz'd, and the Clergy had not expressly promised King James to inculcate Passive Obedience upon all his Subjects, and thereby to bind the Nation Hand and Foot, and to leave nothing but suffering Souls in his whole Kingdom, he would never have ventured to think of Dragooning us, nor have begun with his Preparatory Oppressions in order to it.

But after they had made him believe that they were Passive to the Death, and Loyal to the Death, when the Burden of their own ill-contrived Oppression came home to themselves, and touch'd but one of their Fingers, they soon let him understand that they had given him only a Spiritual Kingdom, and not a Kingdom of this World: For if his Kingdom had been of this World, then would his Servants have fought for him. But so they Deluded and Parted with their Passive-Obedience-King. For Passive Obedience is calculated only for Tyranny; suffering under Arbitrary and Illegal Commands and Orders, cannot take place in a Legal Government, neither is there room for any such thing. Till Passive Obedience has either found or made a Tyranny, it can never be a Duty; nor then neither,

ther, for Tyranny is not Government, but the Destruction of it.

And therefore the two Histories of Passive Obedience, and the brisk Sermons that have been Preached upon that Subject in this Reign, are Contraband Goods: for we live under a Prince who within these few Years raised the whole Posse *of* England *against this Doctrine, and by his Declaration* invited and required all the People of *England* of all Ranks, to Assist him against the Soveraign and his Forces, to prevent the Nation's being kept under Arbitrary Government and Slavery. *We were under Arbitrary Government and Slavery then, and we may thank Passive Obedience for it; and I am humbly of Opinion that we ought never to come under it more. And therefore I think it worthy your great Wisdom and Justice, that as* you have annexed that Princely Declaration to the Crown, and made the Pursuance of it a Principal Point in the Confidence and Trust you reposed in the King, when you Invested him: *So you would provide that all those who began, continued, and ended that Glorious Expedition under the Prince of* Orange, *(which had been a Blew one, if Passive Obedience had been believed, as it was constantly preached for Gospel) may not, in this Reign at least, be represented as Rebels and Traytors, but by some Temporary Act may be Relieved from the Aspersion of Delivering their Country. That one Usurping Priest in his Pulpit may not*

call

call for Pontius Pilate's *Baſon of Water, to waſh his Hands clean from the* Sin *of this Revolution; and another Conquering Prieſt may not Repreſent thoſe who Invited in, and Aſſiſted this preſent King,* as Men not afraid of the Power as they ought to have been; *and another Deſerting Prieſt may not make King* James's *Forfeiture to be his* going away, *which was the Beſt thing that ever he did; and thereby leave all Men to be Rebels and Traytors who had invited, joined, or were prepared to join the Prince of* Orange *before the* 10th *of* December 88. *when our Deliverance was compleated.*

Theſe wretched Inventions of Uſurpation, Conqueſt, *and* Deſertion, *were found out merely to cover the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience, and to keep that ſafe and ſound, notwithſtanding the Prince and the whole Nation had engaged in Reſiſting Oppreſſion, and Defending their Rights. And furthermore, That King* William's *coming to the Crown might not be enquired into, and be found to be to the Prejudice of Non-reſiſtance, there is one has likewiſe found out another Invention, That you are not to trouble your Head, whether the King's Title be right or wrong, but you are to Swear to whatever is Uppermoſt, whether he be a Rightful Prince or an Uſurper, which is the Primitive Doctrine of the Paſtoral Letter.*

And this is ſuch a Scorn put upon a Free Nation as never was in the World, as if the Subjects of England *were to engage their Allegiance Blindfold, and were to ven-*

cure their Lives and Fortunes in behalf of a Title which is to be unsight unseen, at that ridiculous rate as no Countryman will buy a Pig.

Now all these Hypotheses have but these two small Faults in Common to them all.

First, That they Undermine the King's Throne, as if he had no Legal Right to the Crown; And if he has not, what has he to do with it? For my part I will never pay Allegiance to him as an Usurper; he ought rather to be told daily by his Chaplains that are of that mind, that he ought to make Restitution: It is not Lawful for thee to have thy Father *James's* Crown; *or else they are no* St. John Baptists. *A Revelation sent on purpose from Heaven, cannot oblige us to be Subjects to an Usurper under that Notion, because it is a Notion of Wrong, and God himself cannot make Wrong to be Right. And then shall any Wretch bid us in his Name to Swear to be Faithful to acknowledged Wrong, and to be False to acknowledged and unextinguished Right? In short, an Usurped Crown is a Stol'n Crown, it is* Blood's Crown.

It is true indeed that God can give Kingdoms to whomsoever he will; I know it; He can make them a New World on purpose for them, or take the Forfeiture of the Old, and dispose of his own Creation as he pleases: But then it must appear to be his Will, and he must send a New Revelation into the World along with such a highly Favoured Prince, to every Man that is to be his Subject. For I

am

am not bound to do what God would have me do, till I can certainly know that he would have me do it. Promulgation is of the Essence of a Law.

And this Extraordinary Revelation ought to be as clear and as distinct as Abraham's was for the Sacrificing his Son: for it is as contrary to all the Settled Rules of Right to dethrone a Rightful King, as it is to destroy an only Son. And yet that Command was only intended for a trial of Abraham's Obedience; neither would God suffer it, that there should be a Precedent of an Humane Sacrifice in the World, though at his Own bidding. Is it not enough for an Usurper to wrong a Prince of his Crown, but this must be Hallowed by false Prophets, and said to be done in God's Name: And this proved by no better Argument than Mahomet's Miracle of Success and Settlement?

If therefore a pretended Prophet tells me that I am to own an Usurper as God's Choice, and by Divine Right, and therefore he is no Usurper, I must needs Answer that the Title is far fetch't, and comes a Great way, and therefore I must desire to see some proof in point, and shall always call for Miracles for what is said to come from Heaven. And if I had but one half of the Sense which God has given me, I should never be satisfied with the Mahometan Miracle of Success and Settlement. That Impostor's Come-off, when he was called upon for Miracles, was this: That God had sent Moses his first Prophet with Miracles; and when the belief of them was worn out, and the Jews were degenerated,

degenerated, he ſent Jeſus the Son of Mary with more Miracles which did good for a time; but his Followers likewiſe degenerated and altered their Books: And then he ſent Mahomet his laſt Prophet, not with Miracles, which had failed and miſcarried twice before, but with the Mouth of the Sword. You ask for a Miracle, ſays he: Did not we Sack the City Tauris the other day, and put them all to the Sword? There's a Miracle for you.

I confeſs I have loved a Good Cauſe in my time better than my Life, but never a crumb the better for Succeſs: But on the other hand, the want of Succeſs has made it the dearer to me. Succeſs is the new Weathercock upon the Banqueting-houſe at White-hall: for when the Popiſh Prieſts ſaw the Wind Weſterly, then it was Deus pro nobis; but when at laſt it ſtood Eaſterly to bring over the Prince of Orange, then it was Deus contra nos: And ſo God is made to be of all Sides at that rate.

What if this Settlement ſhould be Unſettled, (which God of his Mercy defend) as I am bold to ſay it cannot ſtand upon King James's Rubbiſh, no more than a new Pile of Building upon the Heaps which lay in the Stone-Gallery. Well, what then? Why then in that ſuppoſed Caſe, though the Wind be againſt us, will I venture a weather-beaten Life for his Majeſty's Service; but not an Hair of my Head, if I can help it, for ſeveral Miniſters he has.

In ſhort, Uſurpation is of the Devil; and at the rate that any Man alive ſhall prove, by the Old ſtanding Revelation

lation we have, that an Uſurper is a King by Divine Right, will I prove that the French and Iriſh Maſſacres were by Divine Right, and that every one of thoſe three hundred and fifty thouſand Souls which fell therein were well killed, and that it was all the Lord's doing. For there is as plain and as legible Scripture, 1 Sam. 2. 6. The Lord killeth and maketh alive, *to entitle Him to that bloody Buſineſs, as there is to make him the Setter up of Divine Uſurpers.*

Conqueſt is likewiſe another wicked Falſe Title to unſettle the Throne. This the Prince of Orange *diſclaimed with deteſtation in his Additional Declaration,* as the Horrideſt Calumny that could be invented againſt him, and ſo Unnatural a thing for an Engliſh-man to join in, as if it had been to be Felo de ſe. *If this Pretenſion had been ſet up when the Prince of* Orange *came, he had never marched forty Miles in* England, *though he had come five times ſtronger than he did: And that which would infallibly have Barr'd him out of* England *then, can never ſettle him in it now; no not though it were preach't from the Clouds, as it only is from the Pulpit, which they have rendred by ſuch means very inſignificant. For what is Conqueſt? Why truly it is a Publick Enemy got within us. It is the King of* France, *not at* Tingmouth, *but at* White-Hall. *A Conqueror is one, whom no after-Treaties nor Conſent can ever make a King; for he muſt have the Conſent of Slaves and Minors, who have nothing to give: who*

cannot

cannot make a Will though it were their laſt; who cannot be Parties to a Contract; for that is everlaſtingly impoſſible, unleſs Men be ſui Juris, *and their own Men at the ſame time. In a word, Conqueſt may perhaps extend to lawful Plunder, and to Goods and Chattels, which I never took the People of a Free Nation to be: But if ſuch a Prize-Office-Divinity muſt needs be ſet up, that always ſuppoſes the Right of Reprizals.*

Deſertion *is manifeſtly Falſe: for King* James *muſt needs go; he was as much driven from* England, *as* Nebuchadnezzar *was driven to Graſs; and he Claimed as he Fled, by the* Rocheſter *Letter. And as for the Wonderful Myſtery of dropping the Great Seal in the* Thames, *if it was done purpoſely, there was a very Wiſe Reaſon for it. For if it had fallen into other hands, the Broad-Seal of* England *might have been immediately employed in Proclamations and otherwiſe againſt himſelf: As Queen* Elizabeth *made uſe of Queen* Mary's *Great Seal for a good while; which the Biſhop of* Lincoln, *Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in King* James *the Firſt's time, aſſures us was ſo, in his Anſwer to Dr.* Cole. *Now to eſtabliſh the Throne upon a Notorious Untruth, is to eſtabliſh it upon Mr.* Milton's Vacuum, *where it muſt fall ten thouſand thouſand Fathom deep, and know no end of falling.*

The laſt Doctrine, that we are to be ſubject to the Powers that Are, *or any thing that is Uppermoſt, is at the firſt ſight ſo wretched a Foundation of our Allegiance, that I*

ſcorn

ſcorn to confute it. For whereas a Rightful Title is as immoveable as the Pillars of the Earth, on the other hand, upon this Suppoſition, that Obedience is only due to the Preſent prevailing Powers, it is but ſhifting the Guards, and in an Inſtant all the Peoples Allegiance bids their King Good-night.

Secondly, All theſe Hypotheſes, beſides their Undermining the King's Throne, as if he had no rightful Title to it, have another Fault in them, that they leave nothing of Liberty or Property in the Nation.

This Revolution had almoſt ſtunned the Hierarchy, and was ſo croſs to their Pulpit-Doctrines of Paſſive Obedience, Unalterable Succeſſion, Indefeaſibleneſs, and Unaccountableneſs of Princes, and the reſt of their Jargon, That it was very much feared by ſome of their Diſciples, that they would not Comply nor Swear to this Government, and ſo muſt leave their Places, and that thereupon would be a Famine of the Word. But there would be no miſs of their Preaching to the World's End, if it were ſuch as is before us. So long as People have a Bible, they had better be without their falſe Gloſſes upon it: Which the People of England *have more reaſon to hate, than King* James *had the* Geneva *Notes, printed in Queen* Elizabeth's *Bibles; for which Reaſon he forbad all Marginal Notes upon his Tranſlation of the Bible. In the Conference at* Hampton-Court, *his Cenſure of thoſe Notes is this, 'That they were 'very Partial, Untrue, Seditious, and ſavouring too much 'of*

Barlow, p. 46, 47.

'of *Dangerous and Traiterous Conceits.* *As for Exam-*
'*ple,* Exod. 1. 19. *where the Marginal Note alloweth*
'*Diſobedience unto Kings,* &c. *But I think the Text allowed it before,* ver. 17. But the Midwives feared God, and did not as the King of *Egypt* commanded them, but ſaved the Men-Chidren alive. *Was ever ſuch an Exception taken againſt expreſs Scripture? And yet becauſe of his Unſenſical Apothegm,* No Biſhop, no King, *repeated over and over again in that Conference; and that* Eccleſiaſticus *was a Biſhop, for which Reaſon the* Puritans *were againſt that piece of* Apocrypha *being read in Churches, and ſuch-like Clawing of the Clergy, the Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury *ſaid,* That undoubtedly his Majeſty ſpake by the Special Aſſiſtance of God's Spirit. *So eaſy is it for thoſe that call themſelves the* Church, *to make Men Inſpired, and Saints and Martyrs, when they pleaſe.*

Upon the Prince of Orange's Invaſion, *and all Honeſt Mens* Rebellion, *as that Party do and muſt term it, they could not for their Lives make both Ends meet: and becauſe they could not make their ſlaviſh Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience agree with the Revolution, they have endeavoured to bring back the Revolution to them, and to reinſtate us juſt in the Condition we were in five Years ago. It's no matter for the Church of* Rome's *Infallibility, Impenitency will ſerve their Turn as well; and if they never repent, they have never err'd.*

Here-

Hereupon, while I was a poor Priſoner, and the Eldeſt of all thoſe that lay upon a Publick Account in England, *(tho I thought a Thankſgiving-Deliverance from Popery and Slavery, would have reached me in the firſt place by Seniority; but as I was ſaying, while I was a Priſoner, and before it pleaſed God that my Liberty fell into my Lap, to which I was born, and which I threw away with both Hands, and with my Eyes Open, for my Countrey's Service, ſome Years before it was taken away from me) was I ſollicited to write upon the Deſertion, in Anſwer to King* James's *Claiming Letter at* Rocheſter.

I challenge the piece of Prelacy, who would have put me upon that Job of under-journey Work, to Print the Letter which I wrote the next Morning upon that Occaſion, and to Anſwer it if he can. In ſhort, I ſhewed that by the Law of England *no Advantage could be taken of a King's withdrawing himſelf from the Government, (if it had been Voluntary, as all the World knows it was not) without a Summons ſent after him to Return again in forty Days; and yet I gueſs the ſame Perſon had the confidence afterwards to write upon the Deſertion, and to found this Government upon it. But I then in thoſe early Days foreſaw, that their Deſign was to begin where the atoning Paſſive fagend of the Lion and Unicorn Sermon left off; and that they intended to enſlave the Nation over again, with the only alteration of the Name of* James *into* William. *Their Intent was, that all things ſhould run in the late Arbitrary*

Channel: For which Reason the very mention of King James's Forfeiting his Remainder in the Crown, by Unqualifying himself for it before he had it, and of his Abdicating the Crown when he had it, by breaking the Fundamental Contract, and by his Tyranny and Subversion of the Laws, was Ratsbane to these Men, and would have hurt their Passive Doctrine: And therefore there was need of Slight of Hand, to give a new Turn to the Peoples Delivering themselves, and to call it King James's own Desertion.

Well then, according to this Hypothesis of Desertion, till a King runs away of his own accord, which was not true in the last Instance, nor ever will be to the end of the World, the People of England have no Remedy against Oppression, nor can ever be rid of a Tyrant; which makes Ours and our Posterities Case worse than it was in K. James's Time: For once in an hundred Years there may fall out some Unhappy Occasion to Assert the English Liberties, which never yet were so stinted, as to lie at the Mercy of so Unlikely a Case as a Prince's own Desertion. We had better have been without our present happy Deliverance, than have it upon those Terms; for that would be selling a perpetual Estate of Inheritance for one Year's Purchase. For though we have a Good Prince at present, yet there may arise such another Pharaoh as knew not Joseph.

But no doubt the Flattering Sir Politick foresaw, that if one Prince might Forfeit for his Arbitrary Government, another

another might, and this would be no agreeable Court-Doctrine. Yes verily it is even ſo: for whoever acts King James's Part, ought to have King James's Fate, only I wiſh it him Earlier. And I ſo far rely upon the Integrity and Sincerity of his Majeſty's Publick Declaration, that a Single Deliverance was the leaſt part of his Care; but his main End was, to ſecure the Nation from Relapſing into the Miſeries of Arbitrary Government any more. So that if we ſhould Relapſe into the Miſeries of Arbitrary Government, (which I will never ſuppoſe in his time) Himſelf being Judg, we ſhall then want a new Revolution as much as we did his. *Additional Declaration, Oct. 24.*

But there are ſome Men ſo ſecure, now Popery is gone, though in great part it is where it was, (and that for ſuch a wiſe Reaſon as never was in the World, becauſe our Allies are Papiſts; whereas all the Papiſts here are French Papiſts, and intirely in that Intereſt:) but becauſe Popery is gone, they have no Apprehenſions of Slavery. Whereas Slavery is Popery, Mahometaniſm, Paganiſm, Atheiſm, or any thing that the Prince pleaſes. For a Slave is a Dog that muſt leap over a Stick, and leap back again at his Maſter's bidding.

Deſertion was Diſcuſſed, whereby the Cauſe was puzzled, and then there was need of a new Contrivance, and ſo Conqueſt was ſtarted; and it was aſſerted in the Paſtoral Letter, that the King had a Right to the Crown by Conqueſt, and that it was a great Condeſcenſion to receive it at

at the Hands of the People. This raiſed two Biſhops more to pitch upon Conqueſt as the ſtronger Hypotheſis of the two; the one of which anſwered poor Aſhton's *Speech, and the other has given us but one Third of his Sermon, which has been about two Years in modelling. I called him poor* Aſhton, *becauſe I heartily pitied his Death: for he acted in Purſuance of thoſe Principles which his Anſwerer to my Knowledg has publickly Preach't above theſe twenty Years, and which were Church-of-*England-*Doctrine, or elſe they had none during that time. I knew their Doctrine was falſe, and the Men falſe, and that they would never be Martyrs for it: but they have an excellent hand at Martyr-making; and when they have brought Men to the Gallows, they leave them in the lurch, after the ſame manner as they report the Devil does a Witch. But then they need not write againſt them.*

P. 26. *The Anſwerer's Argument is, that we ought to ſwear Allegiance to the Conqueror, for ſo they do in the new French Conqueſts;* and the Right of War here is the ſame as it is abroad.

We thank him for his Love as much as if we did; but we will never ſubmit to be in the Condition of Mons *and* Namur, *till we are taken by Storm: And if by his ſaying, that the Right of War Here is the ſame as Abroad, he means that we are the New Dutch Conqueſts, (as the words are capable of no other meaning) I will never trouble my Head with that Matter; for whenever Foreigners pretend*

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to be Lord-Danes here in England, *I will leave that Controverſy to our Wives who can beſt decide it.*

Behold, thrice Honourable and thrice Sage Repreſentatives of your Country, what is become of your Engliſh Rights! You are by this Doctrine a Subdued Nation, and a Foreign Conqueſt; and then I am ſure that all the boaſted Engliſh Liberties amount to no more than this, that our Thoughts are Free, and your Poſt-letters Frank.

Another Conquering Biſhop that heretofore helped to Spoil the Prince of Orange's *Firſt Declaration, and to put a full ſtop to his Expedition, by the proffered Advice which the Biſhops gave King* James, *to Palliate our Grievances, and to have cheated the Nation the moſt effectually that could be, has lately done as much for the ſecond Declaration, and has endeavoured to render it the Falſeſt Paper in the World. With your leave and patience I will make out my Story.*

When the Prince of Orange *had made his Preparations, and our Court was ſenſible of it, there was Means made to draw ſeveral Noblemen to Court to make their Complement to King* James; *which was to make a Shew to the World, by the help of the* Gazette, *that the moſt diſobliged Peers were wholly in King* James's *Intereſt. Accordingly the Biſhops who had made themſelves Popular, by refuſing the Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, and by beginning to quote Law when it came to excuſing themſelves from digging their own Graves, were likewiſe ſent for to Court. When*

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the Summoned Bishops came to the King, Septemb. 28. the Arch-Bishop being then not well, there passed nothing but Acknowledgments of Duty and Loyalty on their Side, and gracious Promises of Favour and Protection from their King. This surprized these overweening Persons, who thought they had been sent for to Advise the King in these difficult Affairs. Hereupon they repaired to the Arch-Bishop, who waited upon the King, Sept. 30. with a proffer of their Advice; which he was ready to accept, and had it three days after in eleven Articles, which have been several times printed and boasted of.

As soon as ever I saw them, I plainly perceived that they were all of them deceitful and Mountebank Remedies: and being urged for my Opinion of them, I gave my Thoughts very freely concerning them, and the rather, because they were said to be very much applauded abroad. I said, that I was sure the King would comply with them, but not all at once; but he would make his Concessions so, as to garnish the Gazette with them twice a Week, and to amuse the People with a Succession of Favours, as if there were to be no end of them. That these Grievances being thus Redressed, there would be no need of the Prince of Orange's Expedition, to take care of that which was already done to his hand; and he might even stay on the other Side where he was. That these Concessions would stand till the King had recovered his Fright, and then all things would return into the old Channel: for by this Advice he would put nothing out

out of his reach; and by fresh Quo-Warranto's he would fetch back the Charters in a few Terms, and every thing else in a less time. But if he should make any shew of being reconciled to the Protestant Religion, which was the last part of their Mischievous Advice, it would very much Impose upon the Nation, though it might make for the Interest of the Advisers. For the Advice was selfish I plainly saw, and all over Church; and the Ecclesiastical Commission, Dispensations, the two Magdalen Colleges, Jesuits Schools, the four Apostolick Vicars which carried the Grist from their Mill, and not filling the Vacant Sees, particularly that of York, was the Burden of their Complaint.

Whereupon I could not forbear saying, That if the Innkeepers of England had been Bishops, and all the Bishops Inn-keepers for several Years past, then they would have thought a standing Army a Grievance, which was not so much as mentioned in this Advice, and which would at any time retrive all the former Concessions. I said therefore, I was afraid they did not mean Honestly, but intended to forestal our expected Deliverance, and to intercept the Prince's Voyage; but if they meant in favour of the Prince's coming, their proffered Politicks would not qualify them to be States-men. But I much more questioned their Honesty than their Understanding, and therefore was sorry to see so Generous a Design as the Prince's was, to be Unblest by Bishops, and puzzled by a little Priest-craft.

The thing was taken right at the Hague: *but the first Declaration being thus spoiled, it gave the Prince the trouble of an Additional Declaration; partly to expose and lay open the Fraud of these pretended Remedies, and partly to meet with a dangerous Suggestion which was then started, of his intending a Conquest.*

His excellent Words concerning the last are these.

'We are confident, that no Persons can have such 'hard Thoughts of us, as to imagine that we have 'any other Design in this Undertaking, than to pro- 'cure a Settlement of the Religion, and of the Li- 'berties and Properties of the Subjects upon so sure 'a Foundation, that there may be no danger of the 'Nation's Relapsing into the like Miseries at any 'time hereafter. And as the Forces we have brought 'along with us, are utterly disproportioned to that 'wicked Design of Conquering the Nation, if we 'were capable of intending it; So the great Num- 'bers of the Principal Nobility and Gentry, that 'are Men of eminent Quality and Estates, and Per- 'sons of known Integrity and Zeal, both for the 'Religion and Government of *England*; many of 'them being also distinguished by their Constant 'Fidelity to the Crown, who do both accompany Us 'in this Expedition, and have earnestly sollicited Us 'to it, will cover Us from all such Malicious Insi- 'nuations. For it is not to be imagined, that either

'those

'those that have Invited Us, or those that are alrea-'dy come to Assist Us, can join in a Wicked Attempt 'of Conquest, to make void their own Lawful Ti-'tles to their Honours, Estates and Interests.

Conquering *and* Enslaving *the Nation, which are equivalent Words, and both put together in this Declaration, was so wicked a Design, that his Majesty was not capable of Intending it, and disclaims it with Abhorrence. How then come his Priests to tell him, and the whole Nation besides, that this is* God's way of disposing Kingdoms, *and that in this Divine way he came by his Kingdom, and holds it by that Tenure. Is not this, as I said, spoiling the Second Declaration?*

But I will presently join Issue with this Conquering Bishop; for I have not been afraid of a Conqueror these eighteen Years. For so long since I used to walk by the New-Exchange *Gate, where stood an overgrown Porter with his Gown and Staff, which gave him a Semblance of Authority; whose Business it was to regulate the Coachmen before the Entrance; and would make nothing of lifting a Coachmen off his Box, and beating him, and throwing him into his Box again. I have several times look'd up at this tall Mastering Fellow, and put the Case; Suppose this Conqueror should take me up under his Arm like a Gizzard, and run away with me; am I his Subject? No, thought I, I am my own Man, and not his: and having thus invaded me, if I could not otherwise rescue my self from him, I*

would ſmite him under the fifth Rib. From that time I have had a clear Idea of Conqueſt, and no Conqueror in the World with all his Power can have any more Right to me than that Fellow.

Yea, ſays the Biſhop, but though the Porter had no clear Right to you by being Soveraign of the Exchange *Gate, and Conquering you,* yet he had you in Poſſeſſion. And therefore according to the common Saying, which is moſt true in this Caſe, he had eleven Points of the Law.

Now, I ſay, give me but the one Point of Right, and I will diſpute the Eleven Points of Poſſeſſion with any Man whatſoever; and do no more mind them, than all the Variable Points of a Divinity-Compaſs. But did ever any Man in a Pulpit talk in behalf of the Eleven Points of Law, and maintain Wrong againſt Right? Why does he not quote another common Saying which is moſt true in the ſame Caſe, That Right and Wrong is nothing but Weak and Strong. Such Men by God's Judgment are left us in the World to unteach us the difference of Good and Evil.

But the Man is quite out of his Story, and muſt begin again. For Conqueſt, even in his Notion, is juſtling a Man out of his Seat, and ſitting down in his Place; and this is done in an Inſtant, as one Nail drives out another. But this is quite contrary to the Matter of Fact in relation to our two Kings. For King William *was not King upon King* James's *firſt Flight, nor upon his ſecond Flight, nor during*

ring the long Vacancy, which was no fault of mine that it was not ſhortned, nor till ſuch time as Our People made him King. And we have an Act of Parliament in this Reign, which declares the Realm of England to have been Sovereign during that time, by ordering all Indictments, from the time of King James's withdrawing till the 13th of Febr. to run in their Name. And he that was not King till the 13th of Febr. could not have been ſo then, if his Engliſh Friends had not made him ſo.

By the Doctrine of an Uſurper ſet up by God, you have nothing left you: for a Kingdom of God's giving is Nebuchadnezzar's Kingdom; Dan. 5. 18, 19. Whom he would he ſlew, and whom he would he kept alive, and whom he would he ſet up, and whom he would he put down. So that it is the World's End with any or all of you, whenever the Court ſends for your Lives, Liberties or Eſtates. Such an Uſurper is a God upon Earth, which it is eaſy for ſome ſort of Men to make. For ſo Calyban made Stephano his God, and offered to lick his Foot; but it was for what he could get by him: And therefore it was Trinculo's Opinion, and it is alſo mine, that if his God were aſleep, he would rob his Bottle.

Who ſhall ſet Bounds to a Divine Authority? He himſelf that has it from God, cannot part with an Inch of it; much leſs can that Herd, which they call the People, either limit or diſpute it. His part is to Command, and theirs

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to Obey without Reſerve. Humane Laws are Sacrilegious waſte Paper, where there is a God amongſt them, and a Nation is wholly at Diſcretion. No, ſay they, he is Accountable to God. What is that to us? We may be Deſtroyed, or laid in gore Blood for all that. Is not the French King accountable to God? And yet what Reparation is that to the many millions of Souls which he has deſtroyed, or what Remedy againſt the Deſtruction of as many more? I hate that Phraſe, for the Engliſh Law has provided better than to make their King only Accountable to God; there's always Miſchief in that Saying. I know a Kingdom where an Arbitrary King had exerciſed his People with intolerable Oppreſſions for above twelve Years together by his own Confeſſion, and after that engaged them in a bloody War; and after ſome reſpite, but before their Wounds were well healed, though he were a Priſoner himſelf, he cauſed a new War to break looſe upon them, and was wholly ſecure, becauſe he inſiſted mightily upon it that he was Accountable only to God: Whereupon, though with the Regret of a great part of the Nation, they ſent him to God to give an Account. For which Reaſon I cannot abide that Saying, of being Accountable only to God.

In the mean time the Miſhpat Hamelek, and the Right of an Arbitrary and Deſpotick King is revived by this Doctrine; and the things which are Cæſar's, according to their former falſe Gloſſes, is every thing that is not preingaged to God, which we all know is the Church's Portion. So that the

the Church and Cæſar *divide the World betwixt them. Or as Dr.* Ball *uſed to liſp it out in his Court-Sermons, Lives and Eſtates, Wives and Children, all things were* Thæthar's: *all we had was* Thæthar's, *and therefore we were to render it to* Thæthar. *But I ſuppoſe no able Lawyer in either Temple, of which he was Maſter, was ever able to underſtand this blæſe Divinity.*

It is true, the Scripture calls Princes, Gods, *and that is enough for Court-Paraſites. For when they have got ſuch a Scripture-Metaphor by the end, how have I ſeen them ride on the Ridg of it! Then* 'Subjects withdrawing their 'Obedience from their Lawful Prince, is a denying God's 'Authority; Treaſon againſt him is a kind of Sacrilege; a 'Revolt from him, an Apoſtacy from God; a Reſiſting 'him an oppoſing God; rebelling againſt him, fighting with 'God; the ſetting up the Title of a Counterfeit Prince a-'gainſt the true One, an introducing a Plurality of God-'heads; the obeying of an Uſurper, Idolatry; the ſlander-'ing his Anointed, and his Footſteps, a blaſpheming God; 'the blaming his Conduct, a quarrelling with Providence. Dr. Fitz-Williams Thankſgiving Sermon, for the Murder of my Lord Ruſſel, &c.

I have ſaid, ye are Gods, *is divulged Scripture, and every Body has heard it aloud an hundred times; but there is a neglected Text of Scripture as full of Inſpiration as that, which never uſed to be quoted;* Prov. 28. 15. A roaring Lion and a rangeing Bear is a wicked Ruler over the poor People. *Here are two Metaphors for their one; and if any Body were diſpoſed to follow the*

way

way of their former Descant, it must run thus upon this Text. *A Lion is a Beast of Prey, seeking whom he may devour, therefore give him no Law; destroy all his Jackalls; deliver the Prey out of his Teeth, and wear his Spoils as* Hercules *did. A rangeing Bear will kill you if you do not kill him; therefore destroy all his Cubs, for they will be Bears in time; set a Price upon their Heads, and let the Churchwardens pay it.*

This Text is so lively a Picture of a bad Prince, that the Messieurs of the Port Royal are amazed at it, and say thus in their Annotations upon it, Il n' appartient qu' à Dieu de dire des Veritez si étonnantes. *It belongs to no Body but God to say such astonishing Truths. But he is so good an Authority, that any Body may safely say such astonishing Truths after him.*

Now an hungry rangeing Bear cannot possibly be a God; and therefore when David *calls Princes* Gods, *he meant Good Princes, Benefactors to Mankind, and not his Son* Solomon's *Bears, who cannot be called Gods, no not by a Figure. And this Distinction is so natural, that it became Proverbial in several of the Learned Languages,* Homo Homini Deus, & Homo Homini Lupus. *One Man is a God to another, and one Man is a Wolf to another. And so far as Princes resemble God himself in Justice and Goodness, let them wear the Psalmist's titular Honour of Gods, and good Luck may they have with it; but when they degenerate into* Solomon's *Beasts of Prey, it would*

be

be ſo harſh a Figure to call them Gods, that no Language upon Earth can bear it, unleſs it can be that Figure, whereby they uſe to call things in Scorn.

And yet our falſe Pulpits uſed to treat the Bears as if they had been Divinities, when they had juſt been ſucking the beſt Blood in the Nation; and when they had had more Carnage in half a Year's time, than Popiſh Queen Mary had in her whole Reign.

But if there be no difference betwixt a Good Prince and a Bad, why did the Nation, a great number of them, with the apparent hazard of their Lives, give themſelves the Trouble and Charge of this preſent Exchange? King James would have ſerved their turn as well.

How came the Prince of Orange ſo generouſly to undertake his Expedition, but to reſcue us out of the Paw of the Bear? If we had been under a God, there had been nothing amiſs, and there had been no cauſe with Force and Arms to have ſent him a travelling, where he is, to the Head-Quarters of Tyranny. But the worried People of England invited the Prince, and the Prince aſſiſted the worried People of England; who at laſt laid their Hands on their Swords, and were unanimouſly bent to join him againſt all their Oppreſſors: And ſo we came by our Deliverance.

The People of England, if they had not been enſlaved by the baſe Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience, might very eaſily have done their own Work themſelves, for whom it was moſt Proper; for his Majeſty acknowledges in his Additio-

nal Declaration, That his Preparations were to Aſſiſt the People againſt the Subverters of their Religion and Laws. *So that it was their Work principally, to which they invited his Aſſiſtance, and prayed him in Aid.*

And on the other hand his Words were theſe. 'We do 'Invite and Require all Perſons whatſoever, all the 'Peers of the Realm, Spiritual and Temporal, all 'Lords Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, and all 'Gentlemen, Citizens, and other Commons of all 'Ranks, to come and aſſiſt Us in order to the exe-'cuting of this our Deſign, againſt all ſuch as ſhall en-'deavour to oppoſe Us, that ſo we may prevent all 'thoſe Miſeries which muſt needs fall upon the Na-'tion's being kept under Arbitrary Government and 'Slavery; and that all the Violences and Diſorders 'which have Overturned the whole Conſtitution of 'the Engliſh Government, may be fully Redreſſed 'in a Free and Legal Parliament.

This Invitation ſounded the beſt to me of any that came ſince the Goſpel came; but according to the Paſſive-Obedience-Men, it was a Call to Hell, and to dip the Nation one and all into Damnation: for he that reſiſteth, ſhall receive to himſelf Damnation. If the Prince had directed this Invitation to Them, he had ſpoken to Stocks and Stones that could not ſtir: nay, they could not poſſibly be Neutral, for by their forward treacherous Loyalty they had ſtaked down their Lives and Fortunes on the other Side long before; and by their Prin-

Principles were as dangerous to him as ſo many Grand-valls. *So that it was only the brave and ſound part of the Nation that was not tainted with the Poiſon of Paſſive Obedience, which Aſſiſted his Majeſty in his Arrival to* White-Hall, *and afterwards in his Acceſs to the Throne, or elſe he had never come there. There was not an honeſt Man in* England *capable of joining the Prince, but he that thought it his Right to defend his Right; which was always the ſtanding Engliſh Principle, kept alive in the late Tyranny it ſelf, though to the continual hazard of a Perſon's Life that I know.*

'Tis true, there are Men of no Principle at all, that have ſince made ſufficient Earnings of this Revolution; who being Obnoxious, and out of Service in the laſt Reign, were willing to try their Chance in this, in order to their laſt Reſort, which is the next. But I look upon ſuch pretended Stateſmen as Souldiers of Fortune, who would ſerve King James *one day, and King* William *the next, and the French King onee over again the third, and would be very glad to be Vizier the day following. And therefore there is no relying upon ſuch Men, nor employing them neither; for being hated by the People, they are a Dead-weight to that Government which endeavours to ſupport them.*

But my Soul abhors above all, thoſe that obſtructed his preſent Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Crown as far as they could for their Lives, whereby they loſt Ireland, *and involved this Kingdom in Blood and Miſery ever ſince; and*

when the Nation had gained the Point, and placed the King in the Throne, could creepingly come off with this Excuſe, That though they could not tell how to make a King, yet they knew how to obey a King; and have ever ſince vouchſafed to take his Money in Places of the greateſt Truſt and Profit. But I am ſure that thoſe that did not know how to make him King, that is, to give a Vote for his being ſo, do not know how to ſerve him Faithfully; for they muſt of neceſſity believe him ill Made, unleſs they have quite and clean altered their Mind ſince, which cannot poſſibly be diſcovered by their management of his Majeſty's Affairs.

The ſame may be ſaid concerning thoſe of the Clergy, who to hold their great Preferments, and to graſp greater, have taken the ſlippery Oaths of Allegiance which the Paſtoral Letter buttered for them; and who have thriven by their miſchievous Principles that ruined the Nation, and are ſo far from being retracted, that they are very often repeated; which are as Contrary and Irreconcileable to this Revolution, as Darkneſs is to Light. But perhaps it is Merit to ruine a Nation, and to give an Occaſion for a gainful Revolution.

The laſt Hypotheſis of Submitting to Titles without examining them, and taking the Powers that Are upon Content, is Paſſive Obedience in the firſt Inſtance: for you muſt never after queſtion any thing that proceeds from them, but take all things in good part, without ſo much as

ſhrug-

ſhrugging your Shoulders. This Author has been among the Quietiſts; and it is a great Principle of Molinus, that you muſt go often to Maſs, and inure your ſelves to take a Wafer for a Man, and thereby learn to mortify your Senſes. But becauſe we are Men before we are Chriſtians, and it is impoſſible to be otherwiſe, I will ſooner mortify my Senſes in the way of Tranſubſtantiation, than in the way of Paſſive Obedience.

Your Honours muſt needs be ſenſible, that I have written with ſome eagerneſs againſt Paſſive Obedience; but I gave you ſuch a Samplar of that Doctrine in the beginning of this Humble Addreſs, as will juſtify the utmoſt ſharpneſs of Expreſſion, and will anſwer for me in treating the Preachers of it as Publick Enemies; and ſo I have treated them, and not as mine. Though it is very hard for a Man to ſeparate his private Reſentments from his publick Zeal, when his Sufferings have been all for the Publick; for that mingles them together, and he cannot poſſibly know them aſunder, till ſuch time as theſe Common Enemies have made publick Amends for their Wrong done to the Nation, and not to him. So the great Sampſon when he was making his laſt Effort upon his Country's Enemies, in his very Prayer to God for extraordinary Aſſiſtance, could not forbear mentioning his own two Eyes. I do not care for my two Eyes, God thou knoweſt it.

But ſharpneſs of Language ſignifies nothing, where there is more need of the ſeverity of Laws. For ſhall a poor Pick--

Pickpocket or a Highway-man be hanged for taking away a little looſe Money, and theſe wholeſale Thieves, who ſtrip a Nation of their Lives, Liberties and Eſtates, and all they have, not be look'd after? 'Tis true, they have not the Money; but if the Pickpocket by Conveyance deliver the Money to the Ballade-ſinger, it will be ſhared at Night, by all the Rules of Bartholomew-Fair.

I had rather have my Houſe robb'd for once and away, than be told by pretended Churchmen, that a King has a High-way to my Coffers, and that all Perſons he ſends on that Errand are Irreſiſtible: I had rather live in Priſon, than have my Liberty lie at the ſame lay: And it is better for a Nation (though there is no need of it) to die and go off the Stage, than live a Dog's Life at any one Man's Mercy whatſoever.

I will add further, that though I have been much more converſant with Priſons than with Palaces, yet I have left me that natural Idea of Honour, that I would ſcorn to be the Prince of a Paſſive-Obedience-Nation. It degrades a King, and gives him the meaneſt Office in the World, and the moſt diſhonourable Employment. For whereas a Herdſman and a Muleteer are mean Callings, becauſe they only govern Cattel: So a King, becauſe he governs a vaſt Number of Men like himſelf, Brave, Wiſe and Free, is in the moſt exalted Station that is upon Earth; he is King of Kings, and is ſerved by Princes. But to wiſh they were a Venal or a Servile People, is as if my

Lord

Lord Mayor ſhould chooſe to be Common-Hunt.

It is true, the Men that I have to deal with, may very well be of a different Mind from me as to the Conſtitution of this Government, becauſe they build upon quite different Principles. They excuſe themſelves, for a very good Reaſon, from the intricate Labyrinths of Law and Hiſtory, which are the Rule that I go by; and which are the Standard in this Affair, as the Goſpel is of Chriſtianity: So that we may make uſe of St. Auſtin's *words in this Caſe,* Quomodo legis? Ubi ſcriptum eſt? *How readeſt thou? Where is it written? Shew me the written Law, make it out by approved Hiſtory. Nay, they have departed from the ſtanding Rules of Right and Wrong, and the ſtanding Revelation upon that Subject, and have betaken themſelves to the Intimations of Providence, and the out-goings of the Morning and Evening, which were their Scoff the other day, when thoſe Expreſſions were uſed in the Parliament Army. The Revolution is proved to be Right, becauſe at* Torbay *the Wind chopped about, as if it had been in the Prince's Pay. Avowed Uſurpation is made out by Succeſs and Settlement. The wicked Deſign of Conquering and Enſlaving this Kingdom is Hallowed by Providence, and made to be Divine Promotion; and the Wreck of a whole Nation is proved to be God's-Goods.*

To deny God's Providence, is to ſhut him out of his own World; but to aſcribe wicked Actions to the Divine Providence, is the greater Injury of the two. For the Engliſh

of

of God's Providence is, [As God would have it]: Now when this is applied to Usurpation, which is Robbery and Wrong in the Highest Degree; and to the Conquest and Enslaving of a Free Nation, which is the most outragious Oppression; to say that these are by God's Providence, is to say, that Robbery is as God would have it, and Oppression is as God would have it. But this all the World knows is contrary to God's known and revealed Will: and therefore as the Atheists deny God, so these Men make him to deny Himself.

I hope I shall ever adore God's Providence whilst I live, and do it with more Understanding when I am dead, and therefore I shall be sorry to see the greatest Injustice in the World fathered upon it. That Usurpation, or Conquest, or any other wicked Thing, are by God's Providence, I absolutely deny; but that they are by Divine Permission, and may use the Stile of Bishops, that I allow. Is it not enough to prostitute Pulpits to the mischievous Flattery of Passive Obedience, (which were made for publishing the Everlasting Gospel of Christ, and nothing else) but they must slander Providence too? But the best of it is, that these Interpreters of Providence (who would fain have the bestowing of Crowns and Titles, when it is the Peoples Gift; and the rectifying of Westminster-Hall Law, by their own wry Pulpit-Law; and the direction of all Publick Affairs, by handling a Text pick'd out of a private place in the Psalms) are easily overthrown in the very Ground-work of their Judicial Astrology.

For

For the Diſpoſal of all other things is attributed to God in Scripture, as well as Promotion; and if this Promotion be attained by wrongful and wicked Means, ſuch as Uſurping, Conquering and Enſlaving a Nation, plainly are; it is Blaſphemy to aſcribe this ill-gotten Promotion to God. For inſtance, Prov. 16. 33. The Lot is caſt into the Lap: but the whole Diſpoſing thereof is of the Lord. *Now, I ſay, to apply this Text to a foul throw and cogging the Dice, is Blaſphemy: and to ſay that God has diſpoſed and transferred the hundred Pound Stake to this falſe Gameſter, and that now he has a Divine Right to it, is repeated Blaſphemy.*

The Bible is a Miſcellaneous Book, where diſhoneſt and time-ſerving Men may ever, in their looſe way, find a Text for their purpoſe. I could give ſo many Inſtances of this in the late Times, as would be hateful and tedious. But this I ſay, that Eternal Righteouſneſs, Juſtice and Truth, Upright Honeſty, the Right of the Caſe, and the Reaſon of the Thing, muſt always govern the Senſe of Scriptural Expreſſions. For Juſtice and Righteouſneſs are the ſame in Heaven as they are upon Earth; and if the Notion of it were not the ſame in both Places, it were vain to tell us that God is Juſt and Righteous, for we could not tell what that means; and more vain to bid us be like him in thoſe Divine Perfections, if we did not know them when we ſee them.

But if there were never a Paſſive-Obedience-Man left in England, *which I hope to ſee; yet falſe Titles are of dan-*

gerous Consequence. If we are a Conquered and Enslaved People, (as the Simoniacal Parson said by his bought Preferments) we came Honestly by it, for we paid the Penny for it. The Hollanders have had Six hundred thousand Pounds for it, besides great Sums which cannot yet be placed to Account.

Now I am of Opinion that these are dangerous Matters; for the Dutch are Merchants. We shall have Conquests and Titles bought and sold and trumpt upon us, perhaps sooner, perhaps 500 Years hence. For not to mention Danegelt, after the Restoration of the Saxons in Edward the Confessor and Harold, and after the Succession of five Norman Kings, in Richard the First's Time Philip of France demanded the Sister of the King of Denmark with no other Dower, than the Danish Right to England, and the Assistance of a Fleet and an Army for one Year. Which he Dane not complying with, for fear of the Vandals on one hand and the English Courage on the other, Philip at last took her with a Dower of 10000 Marks, which was I believe the better Bargain. But as the Historian says, he thereby designed a Bloody Business for the Realm of England. Gervas. Chron. p. 1244. Molitus est Regno Angliæ cruentum negotium. Knyghton, p. 2406.

If Philip had succeeded in this Bloody Business, we have false Prophets now-adays that would have hallowed it, and made a Divine Right of it, in these following words.

P. 26. 'And therefore it is that God, though he has infinite ways,

yet

'yet commonly chuſes to employ Men in this Service. He
'either finds them at home that are not afraid of the Pow- Rom.
'er as they ought to be: or he brings them in from Foreign 13. 3.
'Countries, (that is theſe Danes and French) Whiſt- Eſay 7.
'ling for the Fly out of *Egypt*, or the Bee out of the 17.
'Land of *Aſſyria*; *In plain words ſtirring up a* Pharaoh
'*or a* Nebuchadnezzar *againſt them.*

Now in obſcure words here had been both Fly and Bee whiſtled in; but for all theſe little Interpreters of Prophecies, I am ſatisfied that our Anceſtors would have Whiſtled them out.

The old Popiſh Clergy were Engliſhmen, and were in at Magna Charta; *and the Lawyers can beſt tell, Whether the Cathedrals they left behind them, are not ſince Forfeited, for not reading* Magna Charta *publickly to the People every Year, as is enjoined by two Acts of Parliament: for which reaſon they were each of them Intruſted with a Record of thoſe Engliſh Rights; I do not now ſpeak of that Charter's being continually Preached down. I love the Memory of the Abbot of* St. Albans *in* William *the Norman Duke's Time, who not being ſatisfied with his Title, when he was marching his Army towards that Place, fell'd all the Trees croſs the Road, and laid Blocks in his way, and haraſſed all his Army. And when the Duke askt him, why he did ſo? he anſwered, becauſe he knew of no Buſineſs the Norman had there; and if all Honeſt Engliſhmen had done the ſame, he had never come ſo far as* St. Albans *to ask him*

him that Question. I admire the Presence of the Prior of Clerkenwell, *in the time of* Hen. *the 3d as I take it, (it is in History) when in a Dispute about a Point of Right the King meant to overawe him, by saying in King* James's *way to the* Magdalen-*College Men, Am not I your King? Yes, says he, while you govern according to Law, but no longer. I hate Popery, but I love Relicks.*

I know whom I have spoke to all this while in this tedious Address; You are my Countrey, and therefore I submit it wholly to Your great Wisdom; and if you dislike any thing in it, I wish it unsaid: Only I will abide by this in which I can be positive, that I intended it intirely for his Majesty's and my Countrey's Service in Conjunction; and he that talks of their having a Separate Interest, ought rather to be made an Example than a Secretary. But I humbly take my leave; You Represent the Body of the Brave English Nation, you have my Prayers, and long since had my Heart.

THE

AN

ARGUMENT

PROVING,

That the Abrogation of King *James* by the People of *England* from the Regal Throne, and the Promotion of the Prince of *Orange*, one of the Royal Family, to the Throne of the Kingdom in his ſtead, was according to the Conſtitution of the Engliſh Government, and *Preſcribed* by it.

THE

Argument.

IN this enſuing Argument, which will be very ſhort, I have but theſe two Points to clear;

The one of Fact.
The other of Right.

Firſt, That *the People of* England *did actually Abrogate or Dethrone King* James *the Second for Miſgovernment, and promoted the Prince of* Orange *in his ſtead.*

Secondly, That *this Proceeding of theirs, was*

according to the Engliſh Conſtitution, and preſcribed by it.

Firſt, This Matter of Fact being ſo freſh in our Memory, needs not to be ſo induſtriouſly proved. The Act 1° *William* and *Mary*, declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and ſettling the Succeſſion of the Crown, recites the very Inſtrument of Conveyance of the Crown to the Prince and Princeſs; which begins in theſe words: *Whereas the late King* James *the Second, by the Aſſiſtance of divers Evil Counſellors, Judges and Miniſters imployed by him, did endeavour to Subvert and Extirpate the Proteſtant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom*: which is there made out, by an enumeration of ſundry Particulars. And not long after there are theſe words: *And whereas the late King* James *the Second, having Abdicated the Government, and the Throne being thereby Vacant*, the two Houſes of Parliament do thereupon inveſt the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* with the Crown.

King *James endeavoured to ſubvert the Government*, as they favourably word it; or rather, he had long before wholly ſubverted and overthrown the Government, as the Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration ſpeaks, (which this very Act has annex'd, and made parcel of the Crown, and expreſſes to be the only Means of Redreſſing that Miſchief).

There is but one doubtful Word in all that I have recited, which ſome People make a hard Word; and that is, King *James*'s *Abdicating* the Government; which no Man would ſtumble at, who had read *Tully* in his third *Philippick*, who ſays thus concerning *Mark Anthony*, that for his offering a Crown to *Cæſar*, "Eo die non modo Conſulatu ſed etiam Li-"bertate ſe *Abdicavit*, eſſet enim ipſi certè "ſtatim ſerviendum, ſi Cæſar ab eo Regni "inſigne accipere voluiſſet. At that time he "not only *Abdicated* his Conſulſhip, but his "Liberty; for if *Cæſar* would have accepted "the Crown, *Mark Anthony* muſt preſent-"ly have turned Slave. Now *Mark Antho-ny* by this Action did not expreſſly re-

nounce his Conſulſhip or Liberty, or run away from both of them, but he did that which was inconſiſtent with them both, HE FORFEITED THEM BOTH; which is the true import of that Phraſe.

The ſecond thing is the Point of Right; That *this Proceeding of the People of* England *was agreeable to the Engliſh Conſtitution, and preſcribed by it.*

To make this out, I need only recite the Declaration of the Lords and Commons, 10*th Rich.* 2. in their Meſſage to the King then at *Eltham. Knyghton*, pag. 2683.

Domine Rex,

" SET & unum aliud de nuncio noſtro ſu-
" pereſt Nobis ex parte Populi veſtri Vo-
" bis intimare. Habent enim ex antiquo Sta-
" tuto & de facto non longe retroactis tempo-
" ribus experienter quod dolendum eſt habito,
" Si Rex maligno conſilio quocunque, vel in-
" epta contumacia aut contemptu, ſeu pro-
" terva voluntate ſingulari, aut quovis modo
" irregulari, ſe alienaverit à Populo ſuo, nec
" voluerit

" voluerit per Jura Regni & Statuta & laudabiles Ordinationes, cum ſalubri Conſilio Dominorum & Procerum Regni gubernari & regulari; ſet capitoſe in ſuis inſanis Conſiliis propriam voluntatem ſuam ſingularem proterve exercere; *Ex tunc licitum eſt eis cum Communi aſſenſu & conſenſu Populi Regni, ipſum Regem de regali Solio abrogare*, ET PROPINQUIOREM ALIQUEM DE STIRPE REGIA, LOCO EJUS IN REGNI SOLIO SUBLIMARE.

" *Our Lord the King*——

" BUT there is moreover one part of our " Meſſage ſtill left to acquaint you with- " all, in the Name of your People. They " have it by ancient Statute, and by a late doleful Inſtance, that in caſe the King ſhall alienate himſelf from his People by any bad " Advice whatſoever, or fooliſh Contumacy " or Contempt, or Self-will, or any other irregular Way; and will not be govern'd " and ruled by the Laws, Statutes and laudable Ordinances of the Realm, with the " wholeſom Advice of the Lords and Peers " of the Realm; but in a Head-ſtrong

" way will exerciſe his own Self-will ;
" *From thence-forward it is lawful for them, with*
" *the common Aſſent and Conſent of the People of*
" *the Realm, to Depoſe the King from the Regal*
" *Throne, and to promote ſome Kinſman of his of*
" *the Royal Family, to the Throne of the Kingdom*
" *in his ſtead.*

Here the Parliament laid down the Law before the King, and gave him fair Warning thirteen Years before they thought of putting it in Execution; for this was in the Tenth of his Reign, and he reigned three and twenty Years. And as for the Statute they quote, it muſt needs be a very ancient Statute, becauſe the Depoſing of *Edw.* 2. (who was his Great-Grandfather) in compariſon of that, is repreſented but as of Yeſterday.

This Declaration of the Lords and Commons, the King would not gain-ſay; and they gained their Point upon him by it, to bring him to Parliament. And it is not to be believed that the Parliament of *England* would affirm they had ſuch an Ancient Sta-

 tute

tute when they had not. It remains therefore to conſider how we come by this Record, ſeeing it is not upon the Rolls in the *Tower*: but 'tis no ſtrange thing it ſhould not be there, becauſe it is the four and twentieth Article in the Charge againſt *Richard* the Second, afterwards in the three and twentieth Year of his Reign; "Et præterea Rotulos Re-
" cordorum Statum & gubernationem Regni
" ſui tangentium, prædictus Rex deleri &
" abradi fecit, in magnum præjudicium Po-
" puli, & exhæredationem Coronæ Regni
" prædicti, & ut veriſimiliter creditur in fa-
" vorem & ſuſtentationem ſui mali Regimi-
" nis. And beſides the ſaid King cauſed
" the Rolls of the Records, touching the
" State and Government of his Realm, to
" be defac'd and razed, to the great preju-
" dice of his People, and diſheriſon of the
" Crown of the ſaid Realm; and as is cre-
" dibly thought, in favour and ſupport of his
" Male-Adminiſtration.

The only means left us in ſuch a Caſe, where the Records of the *Tower* fail us, is

to have recourſe to the undoubted Hiſtory of that Age, which was written upon the Spot: Such is *Knyghton*'s Authority, whoſe Hiſtory was both written, and finiſhed, and cloſed up in that very Reign.

And though this ſhould be Scare-Crow-Doctrine to the *Paſſive-Obedience-Men*, yet it is the Tenor of all Antiquity; It is the Doctrine of *the Mirror* in very many places. It is the Doctrine of the Seventeenth Chapter of King *Edward the Confeſſor*'s Laws. It is the Senſe of King *Alfred*'s Stile, *Dei gratia, & benevolentia Weſt-Saxonicæ Gentis. That he was King by the Favour of God, and the Good-Will of the Engliſh Nation.* It is the Doctrine of the great Lawyers ſince the Norman Times; as particularly *Bracton*: " *Rex* autem habet Superiorem Deum; Item Legem, per quam factus eſt Rex; Item Curiam ſuam; videlicet, Comites, Barones, " qui Comites dicuntur quaſi Socii Regis; " & qui habet Socium, habet Magiſtrum, & " ideo ſi Rex fuerit ſine fræno, i. e. ſine " Lege, debent ei frænum ponere, niſi ipſi-

" met

" met fuerint cum Rege ſine frænò, & tunc
" clamabunt ſubditi & dicent, Domine Iheſu
" Chriſte in chamo & fræno maxillas eorum
" conſtringe, ad quos Dominus, vocabo ſuper
" eos gentem robuſtam & longinquam &
" ignotam, cujus linguam ignorabunt, quæ
" deſtruet eos, & evellet radices eorum de
" terra, & a talibus judicabuntur, quia ſub-
" ditos noluerunt juſte judicare, & in fine,
" ligatis Manibus & Pedibus eorum, mittet
" eos in caminum ignis & tenebras exterio-
" res, ubi erit fletus & ſtridor dentium. *Bra-
cton. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 16. *Sect.* 3.

" The King hath three Superiors, God, and
" the Law, by which he is made King; and his
" Court, namely the Earls and Barons, becauſe
" they are called *Comites*, as being the Com-
" panions of the King; and he that hath a
" Companion, hath a Maſter: and there-
" fore if the King ſhall be unbridled, that is
" Lawleſs, they ought to bridle him, unleſs
" they themſelves with their King ſhall be
" unbridled and lawleſs too; and then the
" Subject ſhall cry out and ſay, Lord Jeſus

 " Chriſt,

" Chriſt, hold in their Jaws with Bit and Bri-
" dle: to whom the Lord ſhall ſay, I will
" bring in upon them a Robuſtious and Fo-
" reign and unknown Nation, whoſe Lan-
" guage they ſhall not underſtand: Which Na-
" tion ſhall deſtroy them, and ſhall pluck up the
" Roots of them from the Earth; and by ſuch
" they themſelves ſhall be judged, becauſe they
" would not juſtly judg the Engliſh Subjects.
" And in concluſion, being bound Hand and
" Foot, the Lord ſhall throw them into a Fur-
" nace of Fire, and outer Darkneſs, where
" there ſhall be weeping and gnaſhing of
" Teeth.

So that if the Parliament of *England* neglect to do their Duty in this Caſe, in not reſtraining their King from Lawleſs and Arbitrary Courſes, They do it at their utmoſt Peril; for they are threatned with Deſtruction for it in this World, and will dearly anſwer it in the next.

I have here quoted a knocking Sentence of a Lord Chief Juſtice of *England* in the Time of *Henry*

Henry the Third, four hundred and fifty Years ago, whose Authority hath been so far valued by both Sides, as to be strove for. The *Prerogative-Men* quote such Sayings as these; *Rex non habet Parem in Regno suo; quia Par in Parem, non habet Imperium. Nemo de Factis ejus præsumat disputare; multo magis contra Factum ejus ire.* And in the very Context of the former large Quotation, *Item nec factum Regis nec Chartam potest quis judicare, ita quod factum Domini Regis irritetur.* Now these and the like Sayings, which are often to be met with in *Bracton*, are to be understood concerning the ordinary Administration of Justice, and not to limit the Transcendent Power of Parliaments which he has so fully display'd in this place; and his Rule in other places, where there is a new Case, or any thing too weighty for the Judges, is this, *Respectuetur ad Magnam Curiam*, which is the Key of *Bracton*'s whole Book.

This Doctrine is agreeable to *Fortescue*, who says, That *the People are the Fountain of Power*, in that Expression, *Rex à Populo Potestatem Effluxam habet.* And in another place he says,

That an Arbitrary Power to oppress the Subjects, could not proceed from the People themselves; and yet if it had not been from themselves, such a King as the King of England *could have had no manner of Power at all over them*: For the truth of it is, it is a Contradiction to deny, that all Civil Power is Originally in the People: For what is Civil Power in English, but the City's Power, and derived from the Community? And this either limited, or enlarged, as they please. *The Intention of the People* (as *Fortescue* tells us) *is the Heart-Blood of the Government, and is the* Primum Vividum *in the Body Politick, as the Heart is in the Body Natural.* And it is impossible to be otherwise; The Nation must make their King, for I am sure the King cannot make the Nation. And as Sir *William Temple* very well observes, *The Basis of Government is the People*, though the King be at the Top of it; and to found the Government upon a King, is to invert the Pyramid, and set it upon the Pinacle, where it will never stand.

This Doctrine is agreeable to the *Original Contract*, which is in *the Mirror of Justice*, fol. 8.

upon

upon the Election of the First English Monarch, which Contract is still continued in the *Coronation Oath*, and the *Oath of Allegiance*: Which *Oath of Allegiance* doth depend upon the King's taking the *Coronation Oath* first, which was ever practised till the Reign of *Henry* the Fifth, to whom Homage and Allegiance was sworn before he was Crown'd; which was a singular Courtesy, and done on presumption of the Goodness of his future Reign.

I might speak of the *Curtana* Sword; the Power of the Lord High Steward, and other great Officers of the Kingdom, and draw all the Lines of the Government to this Center: But I have been heretofore forc'd to destroy all the Reading of my whole Life with my own hands, and have not since had Health enough to retrieve it; and now a late Calamity hath fallen upon me that I can do nothing.

Only I must answer one Objection, and that is, That our *Ancient Statute* is not practicable: for the King having the Prerogative of Calling and Dissolving Parliaments, will

never assemble them, nor suffer them to sit for such a purpose. But such an Objection as this betrays great Ignorance of the Constitution of English Parliaments. We will allow that the King hath a Prerogative of Calling Parliaments, but he hath no Prerogative of Not Calling them: For not to mention our Right of having *Stationary Parliaments*, not only *Annual*, but *Anniversary*, which sat down constantly at the Calends of *May*, as appears by the Laws of *William* the First. It is plain likewise, that they were not dissolvable at Pleasure; but that even as low as *Henry* the Fourth's Time, Proclamation used to be made to know whether there were any Petitions that were to be answer'd in Parliament. The first Abusion of Law, as *the Mirror* tells us, is for the King to be above Law, to which he ought to be subject, as is contained in his Oath. And the second Abusion of the Law, next to this First and Soveraign Abusion, is for Parliaments to be *a la Volunt d' Roy*, at the King's Pleasure.

One of the Ancientest Remains that we have concerning the *English Parliaments*, is in *the Mirror*,

ror; where he ſays, in King *Alfred*'s Time, it was made for a perpetual Law, that the Counties of *England* ſhould aſſemble themſelves twice a Year [*in Temps d' Paix*, in Time of Peace] at *London*, *pour Parliamenter*, to hold Parliament. Now I conceive that theſe words [*in Time of Peace*] do let us into the Reaſon why this perpetual Law hath been broken, and how it comes to paſs that Parliaments could not be punctual either as to Time or Place; for we had many Wars and Invaſions after that Time, and the *Danes* had the Poſſeſſion of *London*; and conſequently it was impoſſible for them to meet there, or indeed to keep their Times of meeting any where elſe: whereupon there was a Neceſſity for the King to aſſemble them, when and where they could meet in ſafety; from whence aroſe the Prerogative (as I believe) of Calling Parliaments; which if a Prince uſes Honeſtly, is rather a trouble to him than any thing elſe.

If

If any Person shall vouchsafe to give an Answer to any thing I have here said, I desire him to do it fairly, by setting his Name to it, as I have done; for I hate to have my Books Answer'd (as they lately were) in a *Midnight Vizor-Masque.*

FINIS.

A Catalogue of Books written by the Reverend Mr. Samuel Johnſon.

Julian the Apoſtate: Being a ſhort Account of his Life; the Senſe of the Primitive Chriſtians about his Succeſſion, and their Behaviour towards him; Together with a Compariſon of Popery and Paganiſm.

Julian's Arts to undermine and extirpate Chriſtianity: Together with Anſwers to *Conſtantius* the Apoſtate and *Jovian.*

Remarks upon Dr. *Sherlock*'s Book, intituled, *The Caſe of Reſiſtance of the Supream Power ſtated and reſolved, according to the Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures.*

Reflections on the Hiſtory of Paſſive Obedience.

A ſecond five Year Struggle againſt Popery and Tyranny; being a Collection of Papers publiſhed by the Reverend Mr. *Samuel Johnſon*, during his laſt Impriſonment of five Years and ten Days. Wherein are contained theſe following Tracts.

1. A Sermon preached at *Guildhall-Chappel.*
2. The Church of *England* as by Law eſtabliſhed, *&c.*
3. Godly and wholeſom Doctrine, and neceſſary for theſe Times.
4. A ſhort Diſſwaſive from Popery, and from Countenancing and Encouraging Papiſts.
5. A Parcel of wry Reaſons, wrong Inferences, but right Obſervation.
6. An Oration of Mr. *John Hales.*
7. Several Reaſons for the eſtabliſhing of a ſtanding Army, and the diſſolving the Militia.
8. Four Chapters. 1. Of Magiſtracy. 2. Of Prerogative by Divine Right. 3. Of Obedience. 4. Of Laws.
9. The Grounds and Reaſons of the Laws againſt Popery.
10. An Humble and Hearty Addreſs to all the Engliſh Proteſtants in King *James*'s Army.
11. The Opinion, that Reſiſtance may be uſed in caſe our Religion and Rights ſhould be invaded.
12. The Trial and Examination of the New Teſt of the Church of *England*'s Loyalty.
13. Reflections upon the Inſtance of the Ch. of *England*'s Loyalty.
14. The abſolute Impoſſibility of Tranſubſtantiation demonſtrated.
15. Bp *Ridley*'s Letter to Bp *Hooper*, with ſome Obſervations on it.
16. A Letter from a Freeholder, to the reſt of the Freeholders of *England.*
17. Religion founded upon a Rock.
18. The True Mother-Church.